

Rumania Open to Bolshevist Attack; One Seems Likely

By FRANK H. SIMONDS.

It is perhaps a final illustration of the fact that we are still a long way from the promised world peace, that another new year brings with it the familiar speculation as to whether we shall see another spring offensive. Three years ago the world was guessing as to whether there would be a German attack in the west, and the answer was had with crushing definiteness on March 21. One year later Bolshevism temporarily broke through the Cordon Sanitaire of the Paris Conference and Bela Kun established a Red Government at Budapest. Last year, after the ill advised effort of prevention which was the Polish drive to Kiev, we had the Russian advance to the outskirts of Warsaw.

This year it is Bolshevism again which supplies the possibility of a new military attack, but the old enemy now threatens in three widely separated fields, in fact in four, if one divides the Polish and Baltic area. Thus we have in all the despatches now flowing from Europe the reiterated statement that Russia will attack either on the Rumanian frontier, the Polish marshes, at the imaginary boundaries of the Baltic States, or, finally, in conjunction with the Osmanli Turks in Asia, with British and French spheres as their objectives.

In reality the discussion actually comes down to the debate as to whether the Russians will attack Rumania or Poland, with the present indications favoring the former possibility. What then are the conditions of a fresh war, for an attack on Rumania would constitute a totally new conflict? What, also, are the major circumstances which might provoke another attack upon the Poles, who only a few months ago, by the narrowest of margins, escaped annihilation, at the hands of the Reds?

Already Providing an Excuse,
Much as Was Done for Poland

The occasion of any Russian attack upon Rumania, we are solemnly told by many foreign correspondents, is to be found in the occupation by the Rumanians of the old Russian province of Bessarabia. The purpose of such information, or rather misinformation, is patent. A defence is already preparing for what undefined might seem a war of aggression on the part of the Reds.

A year ago the defence in the Polish case was the assertion that Poland had assailed the Reds quite wantonly and that the war was one of defence. Untrue at the outset, this defence was maintained when the Poles had been driven across their own frontiers, as fixed by the Paris Conference, and were ready to make any reasonable settlement.

It is well in advance, then, to establish the facts as to Bessarabia. This territory, between the Dniester and the Pruth Rivers, historically constitutes a portion of the old province of Moldavia, settled by Roman colonists, whose descendants are the modern Rumanians, at the time of the Emperor Trajan. It was conquered by the Turks in 1812, save for a small district north of the Danube Delta, which became Rumanian when these Latins of the south were liberated from Turkish rule and was only taken by Russia, and taken by force and without a shadow of justice, after the Rumanian army had saved the Russian forces at Plevna.

Of the population of Bessarabia at least two-thirds are Rumanian by language and race. The balance belong to many races, Turkish, Bulgarian, German, Ukrainian, with remnants of many other tribes. The Rumanian people have always regarded Bessarabia as a "lost province." When Rumania was conquered by the Germans and forced to accept the brutal terms of the Treaty of Bucharest, one consolation was found in the tacit consent of the Germans to Rumanian annexation of Bessarabia. The Bolshevist revolution had spread to the province, it was occupied by Bolshevist troops, but with Rumanian aid these were expelled and the provincial assembly voted overwhelmingly for union with Rumania.

No Question About Character
of the Bulk of Inhabitants

There was, and there is, no question as to the Rumanian character of the great majority of the people. Rumanian claims to Bessarabia are far better founded than those of Italy to Iatria and quite as sound as those of France to Alsace-Lorraine, Italy to the Trentino, Poland to Posen. Moreover, these claims have been fully recognized by all European nations belonging to the old alliance against Germany, and Rumanian title to the province is not officially questioned anywhere save in the United States.

In this country, however, there was evolved the rather astonishing doctrine that the separation of the outlying provinces, inhabited by alien races, that is by non-Russian peoples, as unwelcome as should not be recognized until some responsible Russian government had consented to such separation. The same doctrine would have post-

Excuse of Reds Will Be Restoration of Lost Province, but Real Object Is Spread of Communist Cult--Frontier Unprotected Even by Patriotism of People and Polish Alliance Fails to Be Perfected Despite Minister's Plea at Warsaw

posed any of the proper readjustments contained in the Paris treaties, but it was forced only against Poland and Rumania, because of a fundamental lack of sympathy with the aspirations of both which our representatives at Paris manifested.

The quarrel between Bratiano and President Wilson over the protection of the minorities in Rumania, which led to the sensational session of May 31, with its memorable declarations by the President, and resulted in the ultimate withdrawal of Rumania from the peace conference, was an illustration of this American attitude. Since that time we have steadfastly declined to recognize Rumanian possession, although it has been complete and our former associates have all assented.

This American attitude supplies the Bolshevists with precisely that appearance of moral justification which they would otherwise lack in undertaking a war of aggression, and it will be used to its utmost by propagandists if the attack does take place. But in reality there is no warrant for the argument nor does the desire to regain a lost province influence the Bolshevist policy. In point of fact one has to recognize, at all times, that the foundation of the Bolshevist faith is internationalism, and nothing could be less in conformity with their faith or their policy than making war on a national issue—such as the reconquest of a lost province.

Bolshevists Seeking to Upset
Governments in All Lands

The reason for the proposed Bolshevist attack upon Rumania is the reason for all Bolshevist activities. Lenin and Trotsky base all their experiment upon the assumption that they will be able to precipitate Bolshevist revolutions in all other States. The invariable query that all visitors to Russia meet with is "When is the revolution coming in your country?"

When the Polish armies had been repulsed from Kiev and were inside the frontiers marked by the so-called Cordon of "Ethnic Lines," the Bolshevists continued the campaign because they were convinced that further advance would lead directly to a Bolshevist revolution in Poland and the whole Polish country would be brought under the Red flag.

When Poland rallied and the Russian leaders discovered that the invasion, so far from precipitating a Red revolution, had roused Polish nationalism, they dropped the whole campaign and consented to the sacrifice of considerable areas which could have been held had they been willing to agree to a truce after their first victories. They were not concerned with Russia's frontiers at Riga as at Braist-Litovsk, when they were negotiating with Germany. What they were after was all of Poland or none. That is, they were striving to make Poland Bolshevist, and when they failed any frontier was good enough and peace was had, for the moment, with little difficulty.

Now if Russian Reds are planning to attack Rumania it is not because of any concern for the old Russian title to Bessarabia. Their whole history disproves any such human and simple explanation. They are considering attack because the domestic conditions in Rumania hold out the promise of a successful Bolshevizing of the country after an initial defeat of the Rumanian armies. They are looking forward, not to regaining a province, but to dominating a whole country. They mean to Bolshevize Rumania, just as they meant to Bolshevize Poland.

Seeking to Reach Central Europe,
Where Conditions Are Ripe

Nor is this all. Remember that the Bolshevists have always sought to reach Central Europe, where the conditions of life are such that the prospects of Bolshevism are unmistakably bright. Austria and Hungary are in desperate straits. The former is facing something approaching actual famine, as appeals to America constantly demonstrate. Hungary is in the throes of a reaction, following one of the bloodiest suppressions of a Red regime which Europe has seen. But it is only two years since the Reds seized control of all of Hungary, and it is not unreasonable for the Russians to believe that, once they have overthrown Rumania, they can re-Bolshevize Hungary.

As to the domestic situation in Rumania, we know only a little, but that little is disquieting. Before the war Rumania was an agricultural country, with the land held by a few enormously wealthy men, while the peasants lived under conditions which recalled, if they did not approximate, serfdom. During the war and since its close there has been a very far reaching attempt made to divide the land. This necessary reform has resulted in many transient evils and much disturbance, as was to be expected. The new owners of the land have not yet become educated to their tasks.

In addition, Rumania was terribly rav-

aged by the invading armies, German, Hungarian, Bulgarian and even Turkish. The livestock, the machinery, the rolling stock of the railways, all were swept away. The oil wells were put out of commission, the country was industrially paralyzed and has not yet recovered, although later invasions of Hungary enabled the Rumanians to reclaim much of their own property and to redress the balance by sweeping requisitions at the expense of those who had similarly mulcted their Rumanian victims when the shoe was on the other foot.

Bolshevist Attack on Rumania
Would Reveal Unrest in Danube Area

To these circumstances must be added another of vital bearing. By the war Rumania added nearly 10,000,000 people to her population, which rose from less than 8,000,000 to more than 18,000,000. These newly acquired citizens had been subjects of Austria, of Hungary and of Russia. Politically they had been oppressed, but economically their state, particularly in the case of the former subjects of Austria, was far happier than that of the inhabitants of the old Rumanian kingdom. In addition, while the great majority of the new subjects of the Rumanian crown were of the Rumanian race, there were large minorities, Slav and Magyar, who were hostile to the new regime.

To imagine that such an enormous expansion and transformation could occur without a corresponding dislocation of the political and economic life of the Rumanian state was to imagine an absurdity. Moreover, the whole readjustment was complicated by the proximity of the Bolshevist revolution, the continuing hostility of the Reds and by the selfish and unsympathetic policy pursued by western nations, which sought to coerce Rumania into economic concessions in return for political favors.

It is possible to exaggerate the internal evils in the domestic situation of Rumania. The reports are conflicting and are undoubtedly being used to their utmost by certain interested quarters. But the fact is undeniable that there is much in the evidence to suggest that a Bolshevist attack at the present hour would have a very profound menace for the whole Rumanian edifice and might lead to a temporary success of the Bolshevists in establishing their own doctrines in the Rumanian state.

But a Bolshevist victory in Rumania would not mean a local disturbance. It would mean, beyond all doubt, an extension of Bolshevist endeavor to Hungary, Austria and Jugo-Slavia, where there are many of the same elements which I have just indicated exist in Rumania. In a word, and the point is capital, a Bolshevist attack upon Rumania would be nothing more nor less than a new attempt of Lenin and Trotsky to break through the barriers which separate them from Central Europe and exploit the misery and unrest which undeniably exist in the whole of the Danubian area.

Meantime it is of utmost importance for the success of the great enterprise that it shall not be appreciated in its full bearing by the rest of the world. This can be accomplished if the issue is restricted to the question of the title of Rumania to Bessarabia. It may be accepted as axiomatic that no European State will undertake to defend the Rumanian frontiers, unless the truth be appreciated that the Rumanian frontiers are, in fact, the frontiers of the whole civilized world. And it may be doubted whether any aid would be forthcoming to Rumania, under any circumstances, given the present state of public opinion in the western nations.

Yet the truth is hardly to be escaped by any one who faces the situation without prejudice. The fundamental principle of the

Russian revolution is the necessity to provoke and promote Bolshevist revolutions and proletarian economic control all over the world. So far the western nations have succeeded in preventing this by maintaining the Polish and Rumanian barriers, which have separated the Reds from Germany and from the inflammable areas of central Europe, that is the so-called succession States, which have replaced the Hapsburg Empire. The attack upon Poland failed. A more or less fensible barrier has been maintained through the Baltic States. Rumania has guarded the southeastern front.

But the collapse of Wrangel opens a new condition for the Reds. It disposes of the last danger of domestic revolt. It establishes the Red rule over Russia, as it has not been established before. The army has been retrained and it has been abundantly re-equipped from the stores captured from Wrangel. All the losses of the Polish disaster have been made good. And right at hand, near to the field of the Wrangel campaign, is the Rumanian frontier, behind which are conditions which at least hold out a promise of easy victory and almost unlimited opportunity for later exploitation.

In reality it is to the southwest that opportunity seems to beckon the west. A new attack upon Poland might succeed, but it would involve the possibility of defeat and the certainty that French and even British aid might ultimately be forthcoming for the Poles. By contrast no European nation has adopted Rumania as its ward. No European statesman is likely to be able, even if he undertook the task, to persuade his fellow countrymen in time that the attack upon Rumania threatens them and calls for their intervention by arms. These are the reasons why informed observers look upon Rumania and not upon Poland as the probable scene of the next Russian attack. And, be it further noted, such observers do expect an attack.

Given the common peril from the Russian side, will not the Rumanians and Poles combine against the Russian offensive? Apparently not, and here again one touches upon another source of weakness. A few weeks ago Take Jonescu, the Rumanian Foreign Minister, journeyed to Warsaw to seek to arrange an alliance against the Russians. Rumania had just joined with Jugo-Slavia and Czechoslovakia in an alliance against the Hungarians. The ostensible purpose of Jonescu's visit was to invite Poland to join this group, and not impossible to extend its field of action to include the Russian menace. But the Poles are friendly to the Magyars and not in the least concerned with the possible effort of the Hungarians to regain provinces lost to the Czechs and the Rumanians. On the other hand they are bitterly resentful of the course of the Czechs in claiming and acquiring half of the Teschen district, which Poland regards as rightfully hers.

Jonescu's Mission for Alliance
Of Poles and Rumanians Fails

Poland, in part influenced by France, in part by her own feelings, urged an alliance in which Hungary should be permitted to participate and declined all association with the Czechs, pending the resettlement of the Teschen dispute. Moreover, the Poles realized that the Czechs were at all times far more sympathetic with the Russians than with themselves. The result was approximate failure for Jonescu's mission. Poland and Rumania were not joined in any common agreement for mutual aid in case of a Russian attack and Rumania will be compelled to meet any spring offensive on the Bessarabian frontier without Polish assistance elsewhere. There is a resultant coldness between the French and the Rumanians, while the Italians, usually the best friends the Rumanians have in Europe, are inclined to recent Rumanian agreements with the Jugo-Slavs, who are by no means approved of in Rome.

Rumania is, then, isolated exactly as Poland was isolated last year. She cannot hope for French or Italian assistance, she can hardly expect even sympathy from the British, who are up to their ears in trouble in Asia Minor and might well be relieved to find that the Bolshevist activities were confined to Europe rather than pushed dangerously into the Asiatic sphere of British interests. She cannot hope for Polish support, for Poland resents Rumanian association with the Czechs. She cannot look for aid from the Jugo-Slavs, for, although they have agreed to assist her in repressing any outbreak of Magyar irredentism, they are still at odds over the Banat and resentful of Rumanian insistence upon a redrawing of the frontier facing the Serb capital of Belgrade.

To isolation there is now to be added, if Bolshevist propagandists are successful, the moral issue incident to the Bessarabian

question. In other words, what the Bolshevists hope is that the publics of the western nations will be confused by the territorial question, and, thus confused, will prevent their governments from taking action until the hour has passed when action can be useful and Rumania has been overrun and the way to middle Europe opened for Bolshevist armies and propaganda. Really the issue is whether Bolshevism shall be fought on the Dniester or on the Danube, just as last summer it was a question whether it should be checked at the Vistula or the Rhine. But who will pretend that the fact is appreciated in London, Washington or Rome, to say nothing of Paris, which seems more clearly, perhaps, but is powerless to undertake a new responsibility?

Looking now for a moment to Rumanian powers of resistance, it must be recognized that Rumania has a far better military machine than Poland, because it had a good army at the close of its war with Germany, an army which had been trained by a French mission, had fought admirably and gave promise of great effectiveness at the moment when the Russian collapse compelled its capitulation. This army has been fully equipped, thanks to the successful invasion of Hungary; it has heavy artillery and should have all the means of making war successfully. It has, too, at the Dniester, an admirable frontier—that is, an easily defensible barrier. From Plevna onward, too, the Rumanian army has had a real tradition, which makes it something far different from the Polish army, necessarily an improvisation.

Is Rumanian Patriotism Strong Enough
To Face Another Disastrous War?

Provided the nation stood behind the army and was capable of such miracles of patriotism as the Polish people in the last hours of the Red invasion, or of the French renaissance at the Marne and the Italian at the Piave, Rumanian defence might well be expected to prove adequate. But will such a national awakening take place in Rumania or will the domestic troubles and the war weariness, which is everywhere in the world to-day avail to destroy the resisting power of the army and open the way for a swift and fatal Bolshevist invasion? The whole problem is here.

It remains possible, of course, that the Russians will attack Poland again. I have pointed out why this seems less likely than the Rumanian operation, but there is nothing coming from the Riga Peace Conference which can be regarded as adequately reassuring, and we all know that Poland is passing through a period of misery and famine, the agonies of which can hardly be exaggerated and must greatly break down the national powers of resistance. Yet it is still unlikely that even under new threats Poland would "go Bolshevist." The Russians risked everything on this assumption last summer and were terribly punished in consequence. And it is to promote revolutions that they make war, as they make propaganda; territorial considerations do not weigh with them, save as useful eyewash for foreign consumption.

Russian Attack on Rumania
Would Be Entirely Unprovoked.

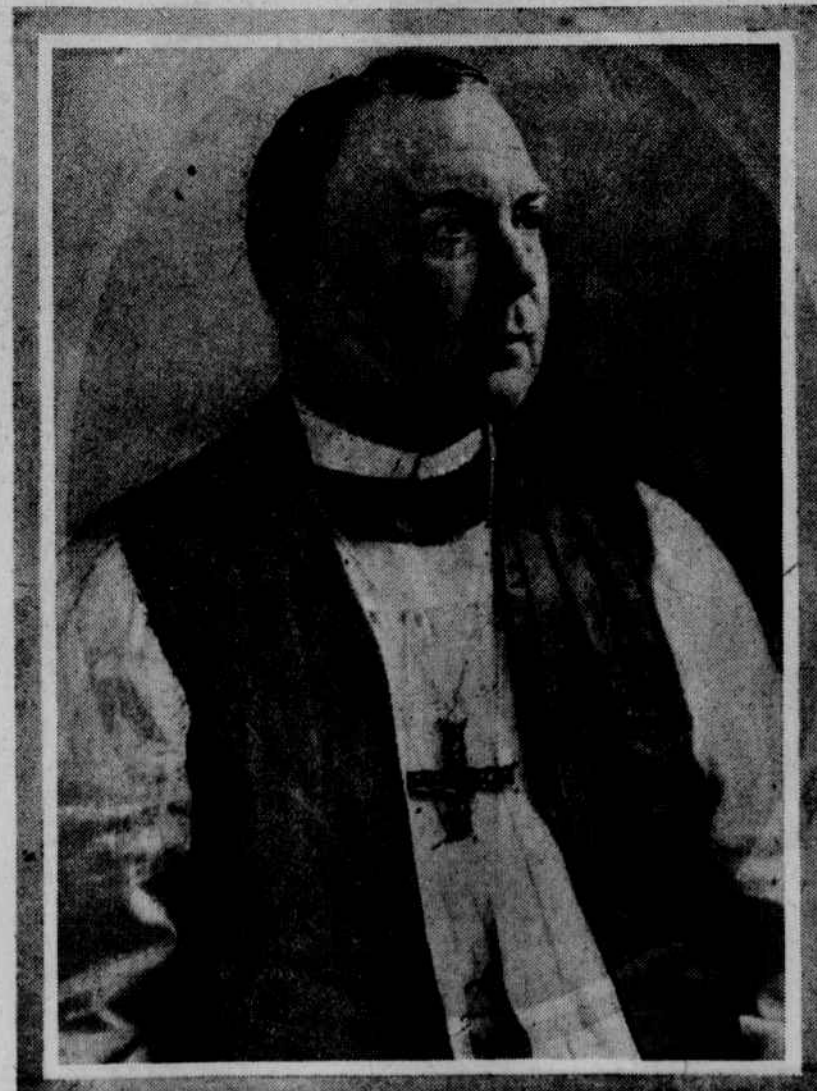
At all events, if the Russians do attack Rumania—and, for myself, I believe they will—such an attack should be accepted as final confirmation of all the arguments which have filled the world about the possibility of making peace with the Bolshevists. The attack will be unprovoked. Not only have the Rumanians not assailed the Russians, but they have so far taken no forcible means to recover the whole of their gold reserve, which was transferred to Russia following the occupation of Bucharest by the Germans, fell into the hands of the Bolshevists and is now believed to be a source of funds for Russian purchases in the United States and elsewhere.

The Bessarabian pretext is too thin to deceive any one. If there is anything in self-determination, if there is any virtue in the doctrine that people of the same race should be permitted to unite in a common country, Bessarabia belongs to Rumania. It was only annexed following the favorable vote of its own legislature. The Russian element—or more exactly the Slav—is insignificant. The whole issue is trumped up to deceive the American and the English public and to cover a renewal of the Bolshevist campaign against our whole western civilization.

And if the campaign succeeds, if the Bolshevists overthrow the Rumanians and penetrate middle Europe, English and American commercial interests, now preaching the necessity of reopening the markets of Central Europe in order to restore economic conditions at home, will see their whole campaign doomed to swift defeat, and instead of an expansion of foreign markets there will be a swift contraction. Yet it is the lure of new markets and expanded trade which explains the continuing and growing refusal to see the Russian situation as it really is. Moreover, the Russians have well learned how to exploit this western sentiment until such time as they are able to renew their own programme, which is something quite different from any western conception.

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Undaunted by Unrest



BISHOP THOMAS F. GAILOR.

The following utterances of the Right Rev. Thomas F. Gailor, presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Executive Council, is an important addition to views on the present condition of the world and the Christian Church, which have been presented in a symposium by THE NEW YORK HERALD during recent weeks.

The question of what the church was doing to counteract the wave of wickedness sweeping around the world became pertinent and pressing when Frederic Harrison on his 89th birthday charged it with failure. This symposium was started by an article by the late Bishop Charles Sumner Burch—his last public utterance—and continued by Bishop Frederic Burgess, the Rev. William T. Manning, the Rev. Percy Stickney Grant and other New York clerics.

By the Rt. Rev. DR. THOMAS F. GAILOR
President of the Executive Council of the
Episcopal Church.

THE profound unrest and perplexity that pervade the world are very largely the aftermath of the great war. It would seem also that in the presence of appalling danger and suffering human beings are tempted to recklessness of thought and manners. Boccaccio and Bulwer have given vivid pictures of this effect upon the minds of men and women.

Those who remember our civil war in America will recall the crime and license and financial disasters that followed in its wake. And Prof. Murray of Oxford has recently called attention to the astonishing parallel between the conditions of our world and those of Greece and Sparta after the Peloponnesian war, more than 2,000 years ago.

There is nothing in the outlook of modern civilization, with all the evils in it, which we must admit, that should make us despair of the divine destiny of the human race. In fact, there is beneath all the misery and unhappiness of it much to cheer and encourage us. There were never so many people in the world who are interested in and anxious about the welfare of other people as there are to-day. There was never such real solicitude for the common good as there is to-day, and the development of that kind of unselfishness is the hope of the redemption of the human race.

Of course I am not speaking from the point of view of Mr. Frederic Harrison. I am speaking as a Christian. My faith is strong and clear that in Jesus Christ we have found a revelation of the omnipotent God, without whose will we could not draw another breath and whose very name is Love; and that "all things bright and dark and glad and sorrowful are full of the purposes of His compassion."

Therefore we look forward with stout hearts, remembering our Master's command, "Don't be afraid; only believe." Of course this means work and self-discipline and sacrifice for the men and women who believe that they are coworkers with God. And the Christian churches are working as they never did before. They are drawing closer together in fraternal intercourse. They are broadening their vision of responsibility and duty, and they are exhibiting everywhere a splendid power of heroic sacrifice.

The coming of the kingdom of God may seem to be far off. There are tremendous obstacles in the way. There is ignorance to be dispelled and selfishness to be overcome and suffering to be relieved, and sin to be fought and vanquished. But to believe in that kingdom and to work for it and to get the inspiration of it is the only lasting happiness and the only real justification of human life.

Birds Help Girls Fight Pests

THE Bird Club of Wellesley College has just launched a conservation campaign which is working under the direction of the department of zoology in an effort to stay the ravages of the gypsy moth.

Ever since the gypsy moth began its destruction in this country the oaks of which Wellesley College is so proud have suffered. There are spots on the campus, once heavily wooded, which now bear few trees and many great stumps, evidence of the work of the insects. The losses each year are still great, but it is hoped that providing food and shelter will attract the birds in such numbers that, with some forestry aid, they will be able to prevent further losses of valuable and beautiful trees.

The girls who have joined the Bird Club movement have erected bird shelters in all parts of the three hundred acre campus and all winter long will make regular feeding tours. There are now seventy of these nesting boxes, placed on poles erected at carefully selected and sheltered spots. That the birds like their new homes is borne out by the latest census, which shows that forty-two of the boxes are occupied. The rest are expected to be taken as soon as the news spreads in the bird kingdom that a free lunch is left at every back door once a week.

A census made for the United States Biological Survey by Miss Katherine M. Edwards, professor of Greek, shows that on eighty acres in the centre of the campus there are 34 species of birds and 116 pairs of nesting birds. This figure is low, and the efforts now under way are expected to show an increase of species and families before the next count is taken.

"There are three things absolutely essential to fostering bird life," says Miss Marian E. Hubbard, professor of zoology, who guards the birds with more than tender solicitude, carrying a loaded shotgun for their enemies. "We must provide refuge for them, wood areas where they will be undisturbed; the ground beneath the trees must be replanted with undergrowth so that they will have shelter from the weather and places to hide."

"The trustees have seen the danger of permitting the birds to be driven off and have appointed a committee which is planning sanctuaries and reforestation. This work will be done in connection with the landscape programme, and it will doubtless result in a large increase in the bird population. When you realize that the birds have learned to eat the gypsy moth, and even to eat its eggs and the caterpillars, you can see what it means in tree conservation to increase the birds."

"Better Times" Aids 2,000 Charities

BETTER TIMES, a non-commercial magazine which reports the most important activities of the 2,000 charitable and public welfare organizations of the city, has issued an appeal for subscriptions to all public spirited New Yorkers. "Better Times for 1921" is the slogan being used. Better Times serves charity in this city as a trade paper serves business. It is not published for profit, but to help make New York a better place to live in.

"It is the duty," said George J. Hecht, editor of the publication, "of each citizen to know what is done with the money he gives to charity. Better Times enables those who contribute to the various philanthropic institutions of the city to know what becomes of their money, and advises the workers in these organizations what the other agencies are doing."

On Christmas eve a year ago the first issue of Better Times appeared. It was at that time the smallest newspaper in the world and was the exclusive organ of the United Neighborhood Houses. But the little paper soon found that a larger need called for its services. Last October the size of the magazine was increased and its scope enlarged to include the activities of all char-

itable and social service work in New York city.

Herbert Hoover is chairman of the publication's board of advisers and sponsors. The other members are Dr. Felix Adler of the National Child Labor Committee; Dr. George Gordon Battle of the Parks and Playgrounds Association; Commissioner Bird S. Coler of the Department of Public Welfare; Sam A. Lewinson of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies; the Rev. Bryan J. McEntegart of the Catholic Charities; Mrs. V. G. Simkhovitch of the United Neighborhood Houses, and Miss Lillian D. Wald of the Henry Street Settlement.

The offices of Better Times are at 70 Fifth avenue.

Above the Fogs

THERE is one feature of the crossing of the English Channel in airplanes which possesses special interest, namely, avoidance of the fogs which are the greatest source of danger to vessels in that crowded sea tract. It is said that by keeping at an elevation varying from 1,100 to 1,800 feet the aviator is able to pass above the fog that covers the water.

During the recent airplane passenger trips from England to France this has been brought out in striking fashion.